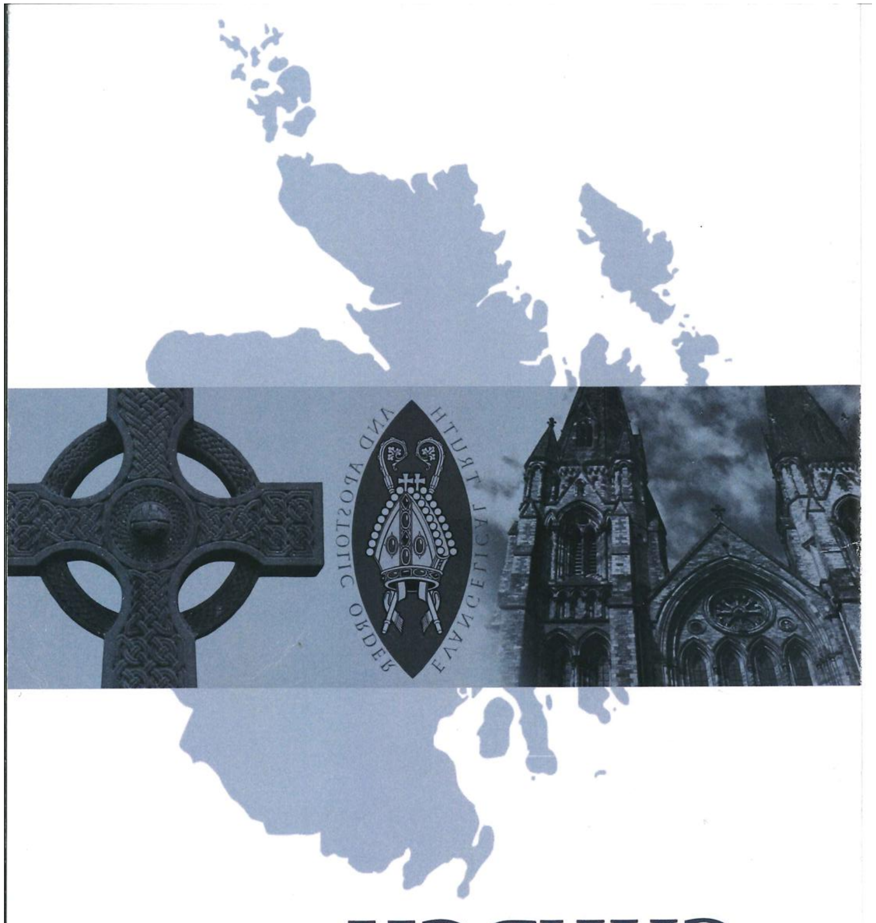

a CHURCH for SCOTLAND

A HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH

GERALD STRANRAER-MULL

A Church for Scotland

The story of
the Scottish Episcopal Church

Gerald Stranraer-Mull

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This book is dedicated to the memory of Pat McBryde,
former Deputy Secretary General of the General Synod
of the Scottish Episcopal Church

She requested its writing,
and it is offered in thanksgiving
for all her work for Scotland's Churches

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Foreword

In a fast moving church or nation it is hard to know where you are going unless you also know from whence you have come. This little book seeks to point to some of the milestones on the journey of the Church across the centuries.

Thanks go to many people for their help – Zoe Jolly and Carol Marr, successive secretaries during my time as Rector of Saint Mary-on the-Rock, Ellon, and Saint James, Cruden Bay; Lorna Finley and Mary Wilkinson in the General Synod Office; the Information and Communication Board for publishing the book and many others for their advice and help on its content.

This edition of the story ends in the summer of 2012. In the immediate future the referendum on the governance of Scotland is likely to be one the most important decisions the nation has faced in over 300 years, and one which will have consequences for Scotland's churches.

However, whatever may be the outcome, the faithful witness of the Church continues in parish after parish, as it has for all the centuries charted here, changing yet unchanged. And it will go on - for ours is a continuing story.

Gerald Stranraer-Mull
Muir of Ord
September 2012

The Earliest Years

The earliest Christians in the land which was to become Scotland were probably soldiers of the Roman army. For a brief period the Empire's northern border was the Antonine Wall between the Forth and the Clyde. The legions sometimes marched further north and there are the remains of many camps and forts throughout the highlands and Aberdeenshire lowlands. The Roman legions had Christians within them - even before the Emperor Constantine allowed toleration for Christianity in 312 - and it is probable that some reached as far north as Scotland.

Ninian

The first Christian historical figure in Scotland to whom a name is attached is Ninian, although the legends around his early life point to a pre-existing Christian church. The tradition says that Ninian was born in Galloway around 350 and to have been baptised young. As he grew in the faith he travelled to Rome and was welcomed by Pope Damasus (366-384). Eventually he was consecrated a bishop for his native land by Pope Siricius and returned to build a church at Whithorn in Galloway around 397. Fourteen years later the Roman legions finally withdrew from Britain.

Ninian is thought to have travelled across Scotland with the message of Jesus. Many place names in south-western and central Scotland are associated with him and an east coast journey can be traced through Arbirlot in Angus, Dunnottar in Kincardineshire, the Ythan valley near Ellon, to Glenurquhart and Caithness and on to Orkney and Shetland.

Ninian is said to have died at Whithorn in 432, the same year that Patrick landed in Ireland to begin his missionary work. Ninian's work was continued by Palladius, Serf and Ternan. But generally the turmoil that followed the Roman withdrawal was detrimental to the young church and there was considerable falling away. A bright light shone, though, through the work of Kentigern, son of a Pictish Princess. He became bishop in Glasgow and was the last of the Romano-British Bishops, dying in 603. In old age he met the equally aging Columba, who had brought the strand of Celtic Christianity to Iona from Ireland. They met on the banks of the Molendinar Burn in Glasgow, amid much fraternal greeting.

Columba and the Celts

Columba was born in Ireland in 521 and arrived on Iona with twelve companion monks in 563. He, and the Iona monks, brought the Gospel to each part of the land – to the Scots of Dalriada, to the Picts and to Northumbria. The organisation of this Celtic Church was entirely monastic. Columba was a priest-abbot. The bishop was a monk and subject to the abbot. There was no concept of diocesan organisation.

Columba died in 597 and for a further two hundred years Iona was the central point of the Scottish Church. The Abbot of Iona (the *Co-arb*, heir of Columba) presided over a confederation of monastic houses, the members of which formed the family of Columba.

The influence of Roman Christianity, with its efficient organisation, was moving northward towards the Celtic strand and the meeting place was Northumbria. A Synod was held at Whitby in 664 at which the agenda was

ostensibly the date on which Easter was celebrated but was actually about the choice of the Roman or Celtic way. Bishop Colman of Lindisfarne put forward the Celtic argument and Bishop Wilfrid of Hexham the Roman one, which prevailed.

Although Celtic ways held on for a while gradually the importance of Iona diminished. The island was raided again and again by Viking pirates in the ninth and tenth centuries and when King Kenneth MacAlpine united the kingdoms of Dalriada and the Picts the primacy was transferred to Dunkeld. The Abbot Tuathal became the first Bishop of Fortrenn and claimed primatial authority over both Scots and Picts, probably the first time that Episcopal jurisdiction was exercised across the land.

The Celtic monks were also being superseded by Culdees who had a different way of life. They lived in small communities of recluses, but with a responsibility for conducting public services. Their name is derived from the Irish *Cele Di* – friends of God.

But, in general, all across the land the Church was in decline – it had lost the fervour of old and the barons were beginning to appropriate church lands and titles.

Medieval Days

During the reign of King Malcolm Canmore (1058-1093) Scotland became an organised kingdom for the first time and an ecclesiastical revolution also took place. It was mainly through the influence of his wife, Queen Margaret, that the Scottish Church entered into a degree of conformity with practice in England and thus with Rome. During the reigns of Margaret's sons – Alexander I and David I – dioceses were created and the primacy transferred from Dunkeld - first to Abernethy and then to St Andrews. Monasteries of the Benedictine, Cistercian, Augustinian and other Orders began to be established across Scotland and these differed from their Celtic predecessors in that they were not centres of missionary activity but of devotion and learning.

The reign of William the Lion (1165-1214) saw Scotland become feudally subject to England under the Treaty of Falaise in 1174. William had been captured by the English army at Alnwick and the Treaty was the price of his freedom. During this time the Archbishops of York and Canterbury intensified their rival claims to have jurisdiction over Scotland's Church. In 1188 Pope Clement III ended the argument by taking the Scottish Church under his own protection and the following year Richard the Lionheart, King of England, about to set off to the Holy Land on Crusade revoked the Treaty of Falaise in return for a sum of money.

In the later middle ages there were further clashes with England. Edward I asserted his claim to be Lord Paramount of Scotland and in the Wars of Independence the Church took the side of Sir William Wallace and Robert

the Bruce, whom the bishops recognised as king four years before the victory at Bannockburn.
In doing so the bishops broke their solemn oaths to King Edward of England and this perjury and the general difficulties of the time once more led to a diminishing of fervour for the religious ideal, and for years the country was under the Pope's interdict which cut Scotland off from contact with the wider Church.

Over the next two centuries, although the Church produced bishops and priests who sought to maintain the Christian ideal throughout the land, there was a gradual growth of lawlessness among the nobles. The greed and corruption that had become inherent in the system was shown by two successive appointments to the Archbishopric of St Andrews in the reign of James IV (1473-1513). James, Duke of Ross, the king's brother, was appointed at the age of twenty and he was succeeded by the king's illegitimate son, Alexander Stewart, who was aged twelve.

The withdrawal of the Norman-English nobles had taken away a gentler influence, and this was further diluted by the loss of many of the country's leaders at the Battle of Flodden in 1513, at which the young Archbishop died at his father's side.

When key positions in the Church were bought and sold by kings, nobles and popes it is unsurprising that the moral life of the church declined. Clerical celibacy was not enforced and the monasteries became houses of luxury and laxity. Long before the Reformation there were signs of rebellion. In 1407 a priest, John Resby, was burned at Perth for teaching that the pope was not the Vicar of Christ and that no one could be who was not personally holy. Many attempts were made to reverse the degeneration of the

church and it was discussed at Council after Council. King David II tried by beginning to substitute collegiate churches for monasteries and it was also during this period that universities were established at St Andrews (1410), Glasgow (1451) and Aberdeen (1495), each of them by a Bishop. William Elphinstone, who founded the University of Aberdeen, strove throughout his life to achieve the best for Church and Nation, but such men were the exceptions. More typical was the rivalry between Archbishoprics of St Andrews (created in 1474) and Glasgow (created in 1492). The disputes between Archbishop Scheves of St Andrews and Archbishop Blackadder of Glasgow became so virulent that eventually Parliament had to intervene to keep the peace. The unedifying contest further paved the way for the Reformation.

The Reformation

In 1525 the Scottish Parliament forbade books containing the teachings of Martin Luther, but they were freely available in all the ports of the east coast, Aberdeen, Dundee, St Andrews and Leith. Three years later Patrick Hamilton was burned as a teacher of Luther's doctrines – the first martyr of the Reformation. As a boy he had become Abbot of Fearn in Ross-shire, and had then studied in Paris and Louvain before enrolling at St Andrews University. He was Precentor of the Cathedral Choir and a priest. In 1527 his Lutheran leanings were such that he went into exile and at Wittenburg met Luther and wrote a book *Commonplaces*, which sought to explain the doctrine of justification by faith. It was influential in the development of Scottish Protestant theology. In 1528 he returned to Scotland and was immediately seized and condemned as a heretic by Archbishop Beaton of St Andrews. It was the beginning of a persecution of those who held different ideas that, in the end, led to entrenchment rather than discussion and culminated in the Reformation.

King James V (1513-42) was aware of the need for a reform of the Church but in essence did nothing. He encouraged George Buchanan and David Lindsay in their critical writing and threatened the bishops that unless they put right their own lives and those of their clergy he would send them to be dealt with by his uncle, King Henry VIII of England. But he also ensured that five of his illegitimate children were abbots or priors. The king's early death left his newly-born daughter, Mary, as Queen of Scots amid a political vacuum and a religious ferment.

In England Henry VIII's ecclesiastical changes were in progress and those who favoured reform in Scotland began to look more kindly on the "auld enemy" while those of a more conservative disposition preferred to turn to France for aid. In 1548 the six year old Queen Mary travelled there for marriage to the Dauphin.

Events were moving swiftly as Cardinal David Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, was murdered in his castle by the shore at St Andrews and the forces of reform gathered. There were actually two distinct groups of reformers – the extreme Protestant party, whose chief spokesman was to be John Knox, and a more moderate group who, though well aware of the need for change, wanted to keep as much as was good in the old Church.

The efforts made by the moderate reformers can be traced through the proceedings of the Provincial Councils and at the final Council in Edinburgh in 1559 requests were made by them for the nobility and gentry in each diocese to have a part in the election of the bishop and for the parishioners to have a voice in the choice of parish priest. These requests were ignored and the Council adjourned to meet the following year, but that opportunity never came. A few days after the close of the Council John Knox, summoned from Geneva by the reforming nobles, arrived in Scotland.

John Knox was a cleric of the pre-Reformation Church but had joined those holding the Castle at St Andrews after Cardinal Beaton's assassination. When the castle was taken, with French assistance, he became a prisoner and a galley slave in France. On his release he travelled to England where he became Chaplain to King Edward VI and Vicar of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Berwick-upon-Tweed. He was offered, but declined, the Bishopric of Rochester.

On the death of Edward VI, John Knox moved first to France and then to Switzerland, where he worked under John Calvin, and wrote pamphlets urging forward the Reformation.

On his return to Scotland in 1559 there was conflict with the Regent, Mary of Guise, and the government. A few weeks after John Knox's arrival a proclamation banned anyone from preaching or administering the sacrament without a bishop's authority. The extreme reformers ignored this and soon afterwards John Knox preached in Saint John's, Perth. After the sermon a priest prepared to say Mass. It was a normal action although, in the circumstances, a provocative one and a fight broke out among the congregation. Much of the interior of the church was destroyed, as were, over the next two days, three monasteries in Perth. The destruction spread throughout Scotland, despite an attempt by John Knox to prevent it, while many of the nobles took the opportunity of appropriating church land and possessions.

In France the Dauphin, Mary's husband, had become king and military aid was sent to Scotland and the reformers had to turn to the "auld enemy". The English army and fleet enabled the reformers to wage war on the Regent and her Scottish and French forces.

Mary of Guise, however, died in Edinburgh and the civil war was ended by the Treaty of Edinburgh in July 1560. At a meeting of the Parliament the Pope's authority in Scotland was removed, the Mass forbidden and the administration of the Sacraments restricted to those admitted as preachers. The triumph of the extreme reformers was complete, as was the failure of the moderates.

Episcopacy, of a sort

Putting the new ways into practice was more difficult, however. It was only in parts of the land that Ministers were appointed and Superintendents put in place. Even twelve years later there were only 257 ministers available for more than a thousand parishes. It was clear that the new system was not a success and at the Convention of Leith in 1572 and at the General Assembly which followed it – with John Knox's support – the Episcopate was restored, although bishops were simply appointed rather than consecrated and were subject to the Assembly.

The twenty years which followed saw division. The bishops had the support of only a section of the Church not all of it and were seen as creatures of the Crown. Andrew Melville, Principal of Glasgow University and then of Saint Mary's College, St Andrews, was the founding father of Presbyterianism in Scotland. He opposed the policies put forward by the bishops and in the end defeated them.

In 1592 Presbyterianism was formally established in Scotland, although two thirds of the parishes still did not have a Presbyterian minister. In many parts of Scotland the Reformation had had little effect and those adhering to the old ways continued to worship, openly or secretly depending on local circumstances.

The titular bishops, although without ecclesiastical power, continued to sit in Parliament and indeed by 1600 new "bishops" (called Commissioners) were being appointed to the vacant sees. The reason was that it was becoming clear to King James VI that the creation of a political power base, able to challenge the throne itself, was the logical conclusion of the development of extreme Presbyterianism.

Andrew Melville had called James "God's silly vassal" and said that there were two kingdoms in Scotland and one was the Kirk, and in this kingdom James could not be a king, or lord, but only a member.

When James ascended the English throne, as James I, in 1604 the restoration of full Episcopacy was seen as only being a matter of time. In 1606 the Scottish Parliament removed the restrictions placed on the bishop's office and in the same year Andrew Melville became a prisoner in the Tower of London.

The Restoration

In 1610 Episcopacy was restored by the Assembly of Glasgow and within three months three titular bishops – John Spottiswood of Glasgow, Andrew Lamb of Brechin and Gavin Hamilton of Galloway – were consecrated in London by the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester and Worcester.

The struggle between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, however, continued and after twenty-eight years the Assembly once more abolished bishops, partly in response to the high-handed actions of King Charles I. Without consultation with the Assembly, or even with all the bishops, the king imposed on the Scottish Church a Book of Canons, an Ordinal and finally, in 1637, a new Prayer Book, which had been prepared by John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and James Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane. The concept of a Prayer Book was not, of course, a new one as the English Prayer Book of Edward VI in 1552 and John Knox's Book of Common Order were widely used. The real objection to King Charles' Prayer Book was the method by which it was introduced.

Presbyterian, again

In 1638 the Assembly met in Glasgow - ignoring the fact that the Royal Commissioner had dissolved it - and deposed all fourteen bishops (and excommunicated eight of them).

With the defeat of Charles I after the Civil War there was the possibility of Presbyterianism becoming the system of Church government in England as well as Scotland and the Westminster Assembly met between 1643 and 1648 to draw up a common confession and catechism.

The king was executed in London in 1649 and, as there had been no prior consultation with the Scots, it opened a rift between the two countries once more. Charles' son was proclaimed Charles II in Edinburgh and crowned at Scone. Before his coronation, however, he apologised for his father's behaviour and promised to support the Presbyterian government of the Church.

England and Scotland were facing each other again and Oliver Cromwell's army defeated the Scots at Dunbar in 1650. General Monk was deputed to rule Scotland and did so with a firm and Puritan hand. In 1653 the Assembly itself was disbanded by Colonel Cotterel at the head of a military force.

Restoration of King and Episcopacy

The death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658 was followed two years later by the restoration of the monarchy and by the re-establishment of Episcopacy in both England and Scotland. In 1661 the Scots Parliament passed – almost without dissension – the Rescissory Act which removed Presbyterian Church government and reverted to the 1637 position.

Of the bishops appointed in 1637-8 only Thomas Sydserf of Galloway remained alive and he was appointed to the Diocese of Orkney. Four new bishops were consecrated in Westminster Abbey by the Bishops of London, Llandaff, Worcester and Carlisle.

The Restoration brought a change in government but not in the worship of the parish churches. No liturgy was introduced, no surplice worn by the clergy and the only distinguishing features from Presbyterian worship was the use of the doxology, the Lord's Prayer and – at Baptism – the Apostles' Creed.

There followed a persecution of those adhering to Presbyterianism. Ministers who would not conform to the Episcopal way were forbidden to exercise their ministry and prevented from living within twenty miles of their former parishes, or even close to any major town.

Harsher and yet more harsh penalties were imposed and there was increasing violence. The saintly Bishop Robert Leighton of Dunblane attempted to resign in protest but was persuaded to stay on the assurance that more gentle ways would be found. The Bishop also suggested a system of ecclesiastical government in which the bishops were

guided by the majority view of their presbyters but this found no favour with the other bishops. He continued in the role of peacemaker and became Archbishop of Glasgow in 1671, resigning three years later to retire to the more peaceable realm of England.

A way of conciliation was, however, needed and between 1669 and 1672 a hundred and twenty of the dispossessed ministers accepted an olive branch and were allowed to preach in the parishes once more, although they were denounced as backsliders by the others. When James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews, was murdered on Magus Muir in 1679 armed rebellion broke out. The rebels achieved a victory over a Government force led by Graham of Claverhouse at Drumclog but the rebellion ended with their defeat at the hands of the Duke of Monmouth at Bothwell Brig.

In 1681 the king's claim to supremacy in ecclesiastical matters was beginning to cause concern and eighty Episcopalian priests resigned in protest. Charles II died in 1685. He had been a secret (or at least private) Roman Catholic for sixteen years and he was succeeded by his brother, James II and VII, who made no secret of his Roman Catholicism.

The Scots Parliament refused to pass a Bill favouring the Roman Church and the King made the Bill an Act of Council and established the Jesuits at Holyrood. Two years later an Indulgence granted freedom of public worship to all non-conformists, including Roman Catholics, Presbyterians and Quakers.

However, James's reign was brought to an end by trouble in England. The King commanded that the Declaration of

Liberty of Conscience be read in all churches. The Archbishop of Canterbury and seven other English bishops refused and were imprisoned in the Tower of London, charged with seditious libel. Their acquittal was greeted with great rejoicing in the streets and the worried King once more promised to uphold the rights of the Anglican and Episcopal Churches. It was too late, however. William, Prince of Orange, had already landed in Devon at the head of an army and James fled to France in December 1668. The following year he attempted to recover Ireland but was defeated by William at the Battle of the Boyne. He died in 1701.

The Revolution

King William was anxious to win the support of the Scottish bishops (as he had done with the English bishops) and met the Bishop of Edinburgh, Alexander Rose, in London. The king said "I hope you will be kind to me and follow the example of England". The Jacobite bishop replied "Sir, I will serve you as far as law, reason or conscience shall allow me." It was an answer which did not impress the king.

The bishops had a second chance, however, when the Convention met in Edinburgh in 1689. The Duke of Hamilton assured it that nothing would be done which would harm the Episcopal Church if the bishops would give the same support to the king as the English bishops were doing.

However, the bishops decided that they could not break the oaths they had given to King James and so Episcopacy was disestablished and the Church in Scotland became Presbyterian once more.

Change was slow and even by 1707 (the year in which the Scots Parliament began an adjournment that was to last until 1999) there were still 165 Episcopalian priests ministering in the parish churches of Scotland.

Queen Anne, who succeeded William and Mary in 1702, was a pious, Anglican woman, who had much sympathy for the Episcopal Church in Scotland. She wrote to the Scottish Privy Council saying that Episcopalians should be protected in the peaceful exercise of their religion. The Act of Toleration in 1712 gave protection to Episcopalians who were prepared to forsake the House of Stuart. They were

able to worship freely, using the English Liturgy, and during the 18th century the number of such Qualified Congregations grew. It was not until the 19th century that they began to be reunited with the Scottish bishops and the other congregations of the Church. (The last to do so was a church in Montrose, which became part of the Diocese of Brechin in 1920). However, as the number of congregations qualified under the 1712 Act grew there was a decline in the fortunes of those non-jurors who could not in conscience accept, and the crisis came with the death of Queen Anne in 1714.

The 1715 and 1745 Risings and the persecution

Many Episcopalian clergy were involved in the Earl of Mar's 1715 Rising in support of a Stuart rather than a Hanoverian succession to the throne. After the Rising was over the Government took firm action and, for example, in the Diocese of Aberdeen thirty clergy, of whom twenty had responsibility for parish churches, were removed from office. In 1719 Parliament passed the first Penal Act which meant that no Episcopal priest could minister to more than nine people at any one time – in addition to his own family – unless he took an oath renouncing the exiled king and promising to pray for King George.

The Rising of 1745, led by Bonnie Prince Charlie, had less direct Episcopalian involvement than the 1715, although perhaps 70 per cent of the Prince's army was Episcopalian and the names of the chaplains are known. The total number of Episcopal priests in Scotland in 1745 was two hundred.

Following the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden the Government army burned Episcopal Churches and where this was unsafe made the congregations demolish them. A harsher penal law was introduced in 1746 by which all priests who did not swear allegiance to King George, pray for him by name and register their Letters of Orders were forbidden to minister to more than four people at any one time. The penalty was imprisonment or banishment.

However, clergy devised many ways of increasing "the prescribed four". Sometimes the congregation stood outside the windows of the priest's house, sometimes four people were in each of the rooms with the priest in a central

passageway. Services were repeated time and time again, on all days of the week. In Peterhead, for example, it was not unusual for the priest to conduct fifteen such services on Sundays.

Penalties for lay people worshipping at Episcopalian services included being prevented from holding any public office, deprivation of the right to vote, and being barred from admission to the universities and colleges.

In deference to the royal prerogative of the exiled Stuart king the bishops left vacant dioceses unfilled and then, when this became unworkable, consecrated "non-ruling" bishops. When Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, the last remaining diocesan bishop, died in 1720 the non-ruling bishops formed an Episcopal College with jurisdiction over the whole church and chose Bishop John Fullarton as *Primus Inter Pares* (first among equals). The exiled James III continued to nominate college bishops and some of them were eventually elected to specific dioceses. In time diocesan episcopacy prevailed, although the concept of a College of Bishops and a Primus, continues to this day.

During this time of persecution the Scottish bishops ordained Samuel Seabury as the first bishop for the United States. It was a significant act. Before the establishment of the United States, following the War of Independence, clergy serving in America had been ordained in London. The clergy of Connecticut elected Samuel Seabury as their bishop and he sought consecration in England. The oath of royal supremacy proved too difficult a problem, however, and he came to Scotland and was consecrated in Aberdeen on November 14th 1784, the first Anglican bishop to serve outside the British Isles. It was the beginning of the world-wide Anglican Communion of Churches.

The reign of King George III, which began in 1760, saw a relaxing of the rigorous enforcement of the penal laws and the clergy began to hold services more openly and some new chapels were built. When Charles Edward Stuart, Charles III, died in 1788 he was succeeded as the last Stuart king by his brother, Henry (Henry I and IX to the Jacobites), who was the Cardinal Bishop of Frascati in Italy.

The Primus, John Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen, led the church out of its legal difficulties. The bishops and clergy agreed to pray for King George III and in 1789 the Primus and two other bishops travelled to London to petition for the repeal of the penal laws. A Bill passed in the House of Commons but not in the Lords. However, at the second attempt in 1792, it passed into law and the oppression of the Church ended.

The years of persecution had taken their toll, and it was only in the north-east, in Aberdeen and Buchan, and in some places in the north and west that significant numbers of Episcopalians remained. A measure of the cost of the penal years is that at the Revolution in 1689 there was a bishop in each diocese and 600 clergy ministering to the two thirds of the population of Scotland while a hundred and three years later, in 1792, there were four bishops and forty priests ministering to just five percent of the population.

The 19th century

As the 19th century began the north-east remained the centre of the Church (even in the 1830s all the bishops were from the north-east and three lived within Aberdeen diocese). Gradually, however, strength grew across the country and at the same time there was greater harmonisation with the Church of England. The 1562 Thirty Nine Articles of Religion of the Church of England were accepted at the Synod of Laurencekirk in 1804 (but it was not until 1864 that a priest ordained by a Scottish bishop could hold office in England). The Theological College was founded in 1810 and was the first such College in the entire Anglican Communion. It moved to Coates Hall in Edinburgh in 1900 (and continued there until a dispersed Institute replaced the College, which was sold to Saint Mary's Music School in 1994).

The lifting of the penal laws, however, did not bring back the church buildings, which had passed to the Presbyterian Church of Scotland following the Revolution settlement, and so there was a rapid expansion of both ministry and of church building. A measure of the growth can be seen in the Diocese of Argyll where in 1808 the only clergy were the bishop and the dean. By 1838 there were seven priests and in 1855 fifteen, serving eighteen congregations.

The Oxford Movement, which began in 1833, had profound effects in Scotland. The Scottish Church had usually taken a high view of sacramental doctrine while its practice had been ascetic and simple. With the Oxford Movement came the introduction of vestments and ritual. It began at the Synod of 1838 when it was agreed that the surplice replace the black gown as "the proper Sacerdotal Vestment". Religious Communities were also reintroduced. Three

Sisters from the Society of Saint Margaret in East Grinstead came to Aberdeen to form the Community of Saint Margaret of Scotland in 1864 and by the end of the century there were four other women's communities. None now survives. Saint Margaret's being the last to go – on the death of Mother Verity in 2002 the remaining sisters became part of the community at Walsingham Priory, although one continues to live in Aberdeen. A new women's community – the Society of our Lady of the Isles – was founded on the Island of Fetlar in Shetland in 1988.

There was, however, a reaction to the change in practices begun by the Oxford Movement. Between 1842 and 1844 some congregations left the Scottish Episcopal Church in protest over the introduction of a Canon which prevented the use of non-liturgical services. By 1880 there were eleven such congregations. During the 20th century these churches gradually re-entered the Episcopal Church, the last to do so being Saint Silas', Glasgow, in 1986.

During the 19th century there was also a growing involvement of lay people in the administration of the Church. After the Revolution this had been entirely entrusted to the bishops and only gradually did the clergy become involved. John Skinner, Dean of Dunkeld and Dunblane, wrote a circular letter to the bishops and clergy in 1824 urging that lay delegates be appointed to Diocesan Synods, but it was not until 1863 that anything happened. Lay electors were then allowed a say in the choosing of bishops and in 1876 the Representative Church Council gave the laity a voice in the organisation of the Church's finances and mission. The membership of the Provincial Synod (prior to 1890 known as the General Synod) consisted of the bishops, the deans and representatives of the clergy, a total of around forty five people.

The Church also became more outward looking, seeking to meet the needs of the new population centres in Scotland as well as undertaking initiatives, such as the Aberlour Orphanage, founded by the Rector of Aberlour in 1875. It also reached overseas once more, with the mission district of Chandra in India and the Diocese of Saint John's in Southern Africa being adopted as places of special concern.

The 20th century

Throughout the century the number of congregations in the Church remained steady at around 320, with some closing and others being opened.

Several major initiatives were undertaken to enable the Church to move into new areas – the *Million Shilling Fund*, begun in 1914, built six new churches around Glasgow; the *Home Mission Appeal*, in the late 1920s, built ten churches in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Brechin and St Andrews dioceses; the *Home Mission Crusade*, begun in 1944, produced five churches in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and *Million for Mission,* between 1991 and 1996, inaugurated work in areas of deprivation.

The other great developments of the century included ecumenical progress, liturgical reform, the establishment of the General Synod, the development of self-supporting and women's ministries and the launch of *Mission 21.*

Ecumenism

The 20th century saw greater improvements in the relations between different churches than had ever happened before. For the Episcopal Church it was built on the foundations laid by the bishops of the Anglican Communion at the Lambeth Conference of 1888. The Lambeth Quadrilateral defined four areas deemed essential for a united church - the Bible as the ultimate standard of faith; the Apostle's and Nicene Creeds as statements of faith; the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist; and the historic Episcopate.

In 1900 the only churches with which the Episcopal Church was in communion were all Anglican but as the century

progressed more and more churches, who met the criteria set out in the Lambeth Quadrilateral, were added to the list – the Old Catholic Churches of Europe, the Philippines Independent Church, the Lusitanian Church of Portugal, the Spanish Reformed Church and the Mar Thoma Church of Kerala in south-west India. The Churches of North India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and South India were special cases. All were formed at various times after British rule ended in the Indian sub-continent in 1948 and each was created by a union of the Anglican Church with other denominations within those countries. All are now provinces of the Anglican Communion.

The Lutherans in Northern Europe

Later in the 20th century attention in Scotland focussed on discussions with the Lutheran Churches. The Scottish Episcopal Church signed the Porvoo Declaration in 1996, bringing it into full communion with the Nordic and Baltic Lutheran Churches, with inter-changeability of clergy.

The Meissen Agreement of 1992 encouraged Eucharistic hospitality between the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany and the Church of England, but still does not formally extend to the other Anglican churches of Britain and Ireland.

The 1999 Reuilly Agreement between the British and Irish Anglican Churches and the French Lutheran and Reformed Churches, in effect, permits shared communion and looks toward a fuller unity.

Councils of Churches

The World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1912 eventually led to the formation of the World Council of Churches in 1937, although its work was effectively put on

hold until after the 1939-45 World War. The Scottish Episcopal Church is a member of the Council.
The Scottish Churches' Council was established in 1925 with representatives of the Episcopal Church, Church of Scotland, United Free Church, Congregational Church, Baptist Church and United Secession Church. The original intention was that it be an instrument in situations where concerted action was necessary. In 1948 the aim was broadened and the Council opened a residential and conference centre, Scottish Churches' House in Dunblane, in 1961. Declining use and increasing costs, however, caused the closure of the House in 2011.

In 1990 both the British Council of Churches (founded in 1942) and Scottish Churches' Council were replaced by Churches Together in Britain and Ireland and Action of Churches Together in Scotland, known as ACTS. In Scotland the founding churches were the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Church of Scotland, the Congregational Federation, the Methodist Church, the Society of Friends, the Salvation Army, the United Free Church of Scotland, the United Reformed Church and, making its first appearance in such circles, the Roman Catholic Church. However, because of the involvement of the Roman Catholic Church the Baptist Union withdrew its full participation.

Conversations

Between 1932 and 1970 the Episcopal Church was involved in four separate sets of discussions with the Church of Scotland (the first two also involved the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church of England) but no agreement on union was achieved. In 1970 a proposal from the Church of Scotland that the Episcopal Church might

become a Synod within a United Church of Scotland was not taken further.

Multilateral Conversations on Unity began in 1967 involving six churches in Scotland – Episcopalian, Church of Scotland, Congregational, Methodist, United Free and United Reformed – and continued for over thirty years, a tribute to the commitment of all involved. During this time Local Ecumenical Projects were established in some places, notably in Livingston, and in 2008 the Episcopal, Methodist and United Reformed Churches entered into a covenant relationship, known as EMU, with a commitment to yet closer working. In addition, for many years the College of Bishops has met regularly with the Roman Catholic bishops in Scotland.

The reports to the General Synod over the years reveal increasing involvement with other churches through things such as the early example of the Peace Project and later the work of the Church in Society Committee. The Synod's Mission and Ministry Board also looks beyond Christianity though its Committee for Relations with People of Other Faiths.

The Liturgy

Ever since the Reformation there had been a Prayer Book in Scotland – the English Book of 1552, the Book of Common Order of 1562, the Prayer Book of 1637, the Scottish Communion Office of 1764, the 1912 Book of Common Prayer (Scotland) and in 1929 the Scottish Prayer Book, which was overseen by Bishop Arthur John MacLean of Moray. His biographer described the book as "the pinnacle of achievement in the best of Anglican liturgical work".

In 1966 the first of the "Grey Book" liturgies appeared (grey because the printer had an excess of grey card available) to be followed by a second in 1970. The Experimental Liturgy of 1977 (known by the colour of its cover as "The Orange Book", was the first modern language liturgy of the century and appeared in 1977, to be followed by "The Blue Book" in 1982.

Alongside work on the Communion Office there was a parallel development of non-Eucharistic services – The Ordinal (authorised in 1984), the Funeral Service (1992), the Administration of the Reserved Sacrament (1992), Daily Prayer (1993 and 1994), and work continued on rites of Christian Initiation (which received approval from the General Synod in 2006) and a Marriage Liturgy (2007).

The General Synod

The General Synod replaced the Provincial Synod and the Representative Church Council in 1982 - its membership consisting of the House of Bishops, a House of Clergy (seventy drawn from across the dioceses) and a House of Laity (again seventy from across the dioceses). In addition the conveners of the principal boards and the members of the Standing Committee are members of the Synod.

Responsible to the Synod are The Standing Committee, which reviews and plans the Synod's business throughout the year, and four Boards covering Mission and Ministry, Faith and Order, Administration, and Information and Communication.

The change from Provincial Synod and Representative Church Council to General Synod was mirrored in each

diocese as the (clergy only) Diocesan Synod and the Diocesan Council merged their responsibilities and formed new Diocesan Synods.

Developments in Ministry

Across the Anglican world during the first half of the 20th century there was discussion on ways of extending the ministry beyond the full-time and stipendiary. The Lambeth Conferences of 1958 and 1968 affirmed that no theological principle was involved and recommended a wider understanding of ministry.

In 1952 and 1954 the Scottish bishops declared that they had no objection to ordaining those who were in full-time secular work, but it was not until 1973 that *Regulations* were produced which enabled the first ordinations of non-stipendiary clergy to take place later in the year.

A selection policy was agreed but each diocese was left to produce its own pattern of training within agreed guidelines. This continued until 1994, when the Theological Institute took over responsibility and all students (for both stipendiary and self-supporting ministry) followed a Provincial Curriculum. The Institute broke new ground and instead of students being trained in the residential setting of Coates Hall the majority continued to live and work in their own communities and train on a part-time basis within the dioceses.

The importance of the laity in ministry began to be increasingly recognised. The office of Lay Reader had been introduced in the 19th century and from 1982 Elders were commissioned by the bishop in some congregations in

the Aberdeen diocese to assist in the pastoral and spiritual care of the people.

The Diocese of Moray pioneered new ventures in collaborative and local ministry, under the title of *Total Ministry*, particularly for small and rural congregations. As the century moved to its close this initiative began to be explored and implemented by other Dioceses and in the years that followed *Mission 21; Journey of the Baptised: New Century, New Directions;* and the *Whole Church Mission and Ministry Policy* all grew from these foundations.

Women's Ministry

The Code of Canons in 1929 recognised the office of Deaconess, although (as in the rest of the Anglican Communion) it was made clear that Deaconesses were not in Holy Orders. The Lambeth Conference in 1968 recommended that deaconesses should be part of the diaconate but it was not until 1981 that the matter was formally discussed by the Provincial Synod in Scotland. The motion that the diaconate be opened to women did not gain a sufficient majority among the bishops (although it did among the other members of the Synod) and therefore failed. Four years later the General Synod had replaced the Provincial Synod and a motion from the Diocese of Glasgow was passed. It received final Canonical assent at the Synod of 1986 and the first women deacons were ordained later in the year.

The first women priests in the Anglican Communion were ordained in Hong Kong - as part of war-time necessity - in 1944. During the 1960s and 1970s there was a movement in many countries across the world towards the ordination

of women as priests. In 1974 there was an irregular ordination of eleven women in the United States and the American Church authorised women's priestly ordination two years later. In 1993 and 1994 the Scottish Synod agreed to allow women to be ordained as priests and the first ordinations took place in December 1994.

Mission 21

In 1995 Canon Alice Mann of the Alban Institute in the United States visited Scotland, at the invitation of the Primus, the Most Reverend Richard Holloway, and *Mission 21* began.

Its aim was to enable the Scottish Episcopal Church to believe in its ability to make new choices and confidently welcome people into its membership. The hope was that the vitality of congregations would be renewed by reversing the demoralisation caused by declining membership, the frustration emanating from theological differences and the inertia resulting from unimaginative thinking and action at all levels of the Church.

Mission 21 had a large impact on the thinking of many congregations and dioceses although the programme itself was superseded by others in the early years of the 21st century.

The 21st century begins

The business of the General Synod is often routine, but the Synod which met in Palmerston Place Church, Edinburgh, in June 2003 was more important than most. During the Synod the final agreement was given for women priests to be candidates for bishoprics within Scotland and also two reports were accepted which, building on the thinking of *Mission 21,* continued to change the way the Church viewed its mission and its ministry.

Women Bishops

The Canon which makes it possible for the ordination of women as bishops was agreed at the General Synods of 2002 and 2003. However, after the trauma of the decision nine years earlier to ordain women as priests, the tensions had lessened and it was widely recognised that ordination as bishops was a logical next step.

However, those who had argued that the time was not yet right for a woman to be a bishop in Scotland were proved, at least in the short-term, to have a point as in elections for bishops in all seven of the Dioceses held between the Synod vote in 2003 and the beginning of 2012 only one woman candidate has appeared on the published short-lists from which the electors made their choices. Canon Alison Peden, Rector of Holy Trinity, Stirling, was nominated for the Diocese of Glasgow and Galloway in 2010 and for the Diocese of Brechin in 2011. Although not elected, she takes an honoured place in the story of the development of women's ministry in Scotland.

The Ordinariate

The arrival of women bishops in some provinces of the Anglican Communion caused growing alarm in other parts of the Church. In 2010 Pope Benedict announced the formation of an Ordinariate in which Anglicans who so wished could be welcomed into the Roman Catholic Church, whilst preserving parts of the Anglican heritage.

The first Ordinariate – named for Our Lady of Walsingham – was created in January 2011 for the United Kingdom. One serving priest in Scotland retired in order to transfer to it and was re-ordained as a Roman Catholic deacon in June 2011 and as a priest a month later. Several members of his congregation in Inverness joined the Ordinariate with him, as did individuals elsewhere in Scotland. A second priest, who had retired in 2010, was re-ordained as a deacon for the Ordinariate in May 2012 and as a priest three months later.

Journey of the Baptised

Building on the experience gained through *Mission 21*, the General Synod of 2003 accepted a document - *Journey of the Baptised* - which affirmed that the basic context for mission was the local congregation, helped and resourced by the wider church. The decision brought local collaborative ministry into the mainstream of the Church's life, with a theology of the ministry of all the baptised, along with a strategy for developing it.

New Century, New Directions

Alongside *Journey of the Baptised*, the 2003 Synod also accepted *New Century, New Directions*, a report which presented a vision and a strategy for ministry development, creating a framework for ministry development for the whole people of God. This included training for ordained ministry but also for other emerging patterns of ministry. It was recognised that mission and ministry should no longer be seen as separate entities.

Whole Church Mission and Ministry Policy

The General Synod of 2011 accepted the *Whole Church Mission and Ministry Policy* as a template for the next years.

The term "Whole Church" was chosen to emphasise that because decision making on matters of mission and ministry is undertaken in different places across the church, there is a need for greater joint working both between the central boards and committees of the Church and with the dioceses.

In this Policy each diocese, and its bishop, takes a central place and is recognised as a source of new energy. The central structure of the Church acts as an enabler and supporter and targets its financial resources towards "missional endeavours".

Same Sex Relationships

In the early years of the 21st century new rows were brewing in the United States and Canada which affected the entire Anglican Communion.
In the Diocese of New Hampshire an openly gay man was elected, and ordained, as bishop at the end of 2003 to be followed by others, including lesbian bishops, elsewhere in the United States. In the Canadian Diocese of New Westminster the Bishop concurred with his Diocesan Synod's request to introduce a service of blessing for same sex relationships.

In the years which followed the actions in New Hampshire and New Westminster there was support for what had happened from some parts of the Anglican Communion and protests from others. A Commission was set up to consider authority in the Communion and its report to the Primates, the Windsor Report, led to a "Listening Process" in each Province and Diocese which led up to the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in 2008. Meanwhile the Scottish bishops agreed to support the moratorium requested by Anglican Primates on these issues.

The Anglican Covenant

The concept of a Covenant for the Anglican Communion arose out of the Windsor Report and has been years in the planning. The Covenant's aim is to address the deep divisions across the thirty eight provinces of the Communion, which had been triggered by the actions in the United States and Canada. The Covenant seeks to replace the "bonds of affection" which traditionally held the Anglican Communion together with a more formal structure. The intention being that no province makes a

contentious decision without consulting the rest of the Communion.

The General Synod of 2012 dismissed (by 112 votes to six, with 13 abstentions) the request that the Scottish Church sign the Covenant.

The Primus, the Most Reverend David Chillingworth, said that the Anglican Communion required healing which the Covenant could not deliver. The Anglican Communion mattered deeply to the Scottish Church and was "a gift to the world". He proposed a motion asking the Archbishop of Canterbury "to encourage the development of bonds of shared mission, respect and mutual support". The Primus' proposal was accepted with the entire Synod voting in favour, apart from just one person who abstained in the vote.

The Years Ahead

Of what lies ahead we cannot be certain.

What we can know is that year by year, decade by decade, century by century, both Scotland and the Church have changed and evolved and that the possibility of more change is always there.

In 1999 a Scottish Parliament met for the first time since 1707, and it has proved a catalyst for change. Following the Parliament's third election, in 2007, the Scottish National Party formed a minority government and after the 2011 election a majority one.

Part of the Government's current programme is to extend the understanding of marriage to include partners of the same gender and also to hold a referendum in 2014 on Scottish independence.

For the Church, the years ahead are likely to hold many changes - and in that, of course, it will be no different from the centuries that have gone. In everything that comes to us, all will be well if we continue to hold fast to the love of God and concern for the people of the nation and the wider world. The love that was there for Ninian, Columba and the early Saints has not changed. God will continue to guide those who seek to walk in this way of love.

THE VERY REVEREND GERALD STRANRAER-MULL ***is***
DEAN EMERITUS ***of the*** **DIOCESE** ***of*** **ABERDEEN AND ORKNEY**

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